1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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JAMES R. MURIE

[FACING p. 14]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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115

My collaborator in the present work has been Mr James R Murie, an educated Pawnee whom I have known since he was a schoolboy, twenty years ago. Mr Murie has taken up the task of preserving the ancient lore of his people, and he has not spared himself in his labor. How difficult his undertaking has been, and still is, can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to accomplish a similar work. His patience, tact, and unfailing courtesy and kindness have soothed the prejudice and allayed the fears of the old men who hold fast to the faith of their fathers and are the repositories of all that remains of the ancient rites of the tribe.

Tahirûsawichi, a full-blood Pawnee, who is the authority for the text and explanation of the ceremony which forms the subject of this paper, officially accompanied the Hako when it was carried by his people to the Omahas. He thus became acquainted with the leading men of that tribe, who were my friends, and this circumstance has favored the successful prosecution of this work. During the fall of 1898 and again in 1900 he and Mr Murie were my guests in Washington; then, and also during my visits to the Pawnees in 1899 and 1901, we were engaged upon the rituals of this ceremony. A final review of the manuscript was made with Mr Murie in the spring of 1902.

Tahirûsawichi is a member of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe and about 70 years of age. He is tall and well made, and preserves much of the vigor of his earlier days. He is mentally alert, quick to observe, possessed of a tenacious memory, and gifted with a genial nature. He enjoys a joke and is always ready with good-fellowship, but he never forgets the dignity of his calling, or fails to observe the conduct befitting his position as the guardian of sacred rites. Although he is childlike and trusting, he has a keen discernment of character and a shrewd common-sense way of looking at men and things. While he is not indifferent to the great changes which have overtaken his people, new conditions have failed to disturb in any way the convictions of his early religious training.

He has struggled to avoid living in a house, and has held to an earth lodge until it has dropped to pieces about him. He said:[a] "I can not live in a white man's house of any kind. The sacred articles committed to my care must be kept in an earth lodge, and in order that I may fulfill my duties toward them and my people, I must live there also, so that as I sit I can stretch out my hand and lay it on Mother Earth." Last fall (1901) I saw how he had propped up a part of the ruins of his lodge so that he might still keep the sacred objects in a primitive dwelling.

[793]

When he was in Washington in 1898 he was taken to the Capitol and the Library of Congress. While the vastness and beauty of these structures gave him pleasure, they did not appeal to him, for such

[a] See A Pawnee Ritual Used When Changing a Man's Name, American Anthropologist, n. s., v. 1, January, 1899.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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buildings he said were unfitted to contain the sacred symbols of the religion of his ancestors, in the service of which he had spent his long life. He admired at a distance the Washington Monument, and when he visited it he measured the base, pacing and counting his steps. Then he stood close to the white shaft and looked up, noting its great height. After going inside, he was asked which he would take, the elevator or the stairs, and replied: "I will not go up. The white man likes to pile up stones, and he may go to the top of them; I will not. I have ascended the mountains made by Tira'wa." Equally characteristic was his interview with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. When introduced, he said: "I am glad to see you and to take you by the hand. Many chiefs of my tribe have done so. I never expected to do it. I came here to talk of the religion of my fathers, which I follow. You can ask my sister (referring to me) what I have said."

Tahirûssawichi had never been east of the Mississippi river until he came to Washington to engage in the preservation of this rite. Of the genuineness of his statements there can be no doubt. His position in the Pawnee tribe is that of a man worthy of respect—one versed in a knowledge of serious things, whose life has been devoted to the acquisition and maintenance of certain sacred rites. He is esteemed as a man of truth—one who has the favor of Tira'wa. He possesses a knowledge of curative roots, and often attends the sick, using herbs as medicine. He is the keeper of certain old and sacred objects, and leads in their attendant ceremonies. His great care in observing all the details of the intricate ceremony of the Hako is well known in the tribe, and much good fortune is believed to follow his leadership in this ceremony. His title is Ku'rahus. This term is applied to a man of years who has been instructed in the meaning and use of sacred objects as well as their ceremonies. The word is sometimes employed as a synonym for a venerable man, one who commands respect, but throughout this paper it is used in its official sense—the leader of the ceremony.

It has taken four years of close friendly relations with my kind old friend to obtain this ceremony in its entirety. Many of its rituals deal with very sacred subjects, and it has required much patience in the presentation of reasons why they should be explained to overcome the scruples born of the early training of the Ku'rahus. That he has finally made this record complete, so that the ceremony as known among his people can be preserved, is worthy of commendation. His work as it now stands shows Tahirûssawichi to be broad-minded as well as thoughtful, reverent, and sincere.

Graphophone records were taken of all the songs belonging to this ceremony. The music as here printed has been transcribed from the cylinders by Mr Edwin S. Tracy and each transcription has been verified by him from the singing of the Ku'rahus. It is to be regretted

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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796

918 See line 917.
919 Kaksha hasha wiki rira. See line 917.
920 See line 917.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

This stanza tells us that the noise made by the people as they gather together on the morning of the fifth day for the presentation of gifts to the Fathers is like the coming of a great flock of birds. The people move like the birds; they do not come in a straight line to the lodge of the Son, but they come from this side and from that just as the birds gather together in a flock.

Translation of Ninth Stanza

921 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
922 Wetu kaksha hasha wiki rira.
wetu, it has.
kaksha, a tumultuous noise.
hasha, flock.
wiki, manner of approach. See line 897.
rira, coming.
923 See line 922.
924 Kaksha hasha wiki rira. See line 922.
925 See line 922.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

As the people approach the lodge they make a great noise. All is bustle; the neighing ponies to be given to the Fathers are brought forward, and the people are calling to one another; there is the singing of songs and the shouts of pleasure; all these sounds mingling make a noise like distant thunder. This stanza refers to this joyous tumult. [152]

Just before I came on to Washington I performed this ceremony, and now as I sit here and tell you about the meaning of this song, I can hear the happy shouts of the people as I heard them some weeks ago. Their voices seemed to come from everywhere! Their hearts were joyful. I am glad, as I remember that day. We are always happy when we are with the Hako. [115] [781]

PART II. THE SIXTEEN CIRCUITS OF THE LODGE

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

The last act of the last night is the making of four times four circuits of the lodge.

I have told you that the four circuits of the lodge which we have been making are in recognition of the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man. We have been asking for help from these powers and so we have remembered the paths down which they

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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1368 hiri! harken.
riru'tziraru, by reason of, because of.
sira, they took; refers to the leader and to the men who followed and depended on him.
sura, possess; to become one's own.
waurux', grasped, as a staff.
para, walked.
raru'tura, refers to that which descended to earth.
tuka'wiut, slantwise.
tari, end, or accomplished mission.
1369 rawa! attend! a call for attention at the moment.
hawa, once more.
urasharu, name.
we, I.
tatki'wati, change.
1370 hiri! harken!
tatux, we used to.
tapakiaho, speak of him.
hawa, once more.
Rarutska'tit, the former name, meaning black-feathered arrow.
hiri! harken!
raro, owner.
rikcha, lying. These words refer to the achievement commemorated by the name about to be thrown away.
ro re, vocables used for euphony and measure.
1371 hiri! harken!
wakoru, now we are.
ratora, all people.
pake'ûsto, speak out and say.
1372 hiri! harken!
akitaro, tribe.
hiwa, in the.
werataweko, prominent.
1373 hiri! harken!
Shaku'ru Wa'rukste, the new name now announced ("Sacred Sun").
hiriwa, in the process of making.
witi, himself.
rakawa'karu, what he is.
ko re, vocables used for euphony and measure.

Closing Remarks of the Ku'rahus

During the days I have been talking with you (the writer) I have been carried back in thought to the time when Estamaza (the father of Francis LaFlesche) came to the Chaul. I met him in this ceremony; he was the Father, and as I have worked here day and night,

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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115 123 my heart has gone out to you. I have done what has never been done before, I have given you all the songs of this ceremony and explained them to you. I never thought that I, of all my people, should be the one to give this ancient ceremony to be preserved, and I wonder over it as I sit here.

I think over my long life with its many experiences; of the great number of Pawnees who have been with me in war, nearly all of whom have been killed in battle. I have been severely wounded many times—see this scar over my eye. I was with those who went to the Rocky Mountains to the Cheyennes, when so many soldiers were slain that their dead bodies lying there looked like a great blue blanket spread over the ground. When I think of all the people of my own tribe who have died during my lifetime and then of those in other tribes that have fallen by our hands, they are so many they make a vast cover over Mother Earth. I once walked with these prostrate forms. I did not fall but I passed on, wounded sometimes but not to death, until I am here to-day doing this thing, singing these sacred songs into that great pipe (the graphophone) and telling you of these ancient rites of my people. It must be that I have been preserved for this purpose, otherwise I should be lying back there among the dead.

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

II.

THE GHOST DANCE AMONG THE PAWNEE.[1]

THE GHOST DANCE: ORIGIN AND SPREAD

The Ghost Dance religion of 1890 arose in the visions of Wovoka, the Paiute Messiah, about 1888, although its roots lie deeper in the past. Wovoka is said to have been a son of Ta'vibo the Paiute prophet of 1870, whose doctrines had been the stimulus of the Ghost Dance which swept through the tribes of northern California in the years from 1871 to 1874. The doctrines of the son do not seem to have differed materially from those of the father.

As a child Wovoka was brought up in a household where he could not fail to be influenced by the practices of the medicine man. He was known as a medicine man for some years before he developed the Ghost Dance doctrine. In January 1889, at the time of a total eclipse of the sun visible in Nevada, Wovoka was sick with a severe fever. He was then about 33 years of age. In the tribe the eclipse caused frantic excitement. "The air was filled with the noise of shouts and wailings and the firing of guns." The people were trying to drive away the monster who was devouring the sun.

Wovoka fell asleep, or "died", and "was taken up into the other world. Here he saw God with all the people who had long ago died engaged in their old time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game... God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must work, and not lie and steal; that they must put away the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing

[1] Informants: Mark Evarts, Ezra Tilden, Joseph Carrion and Mrs. Goodeagle, all of whom played roles in the Ghost Dance developments among the Pawnee. Published sources consulted: Murie, Societies; Mooney, Ghost Dance; Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (see bibliography).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music [1] have included no tribe in which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words.

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

[p. iv is blank]

[p. v]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NAMES OF SINGERS

115
551

Common name	Pawnee name	Translation	Number of songs recorded
Mrs. Wicita Blain (Effie Blain).	Tsastawinahilgat	She led a pony into the ceremony.	25
Wicita Blain [1]	Tutukrawitsu	He overtook the enemy.	20
John Luwak [2]	Laduda desadu	He does everything as a chief.	15
Horse Chief (Spotted Horse Chief). [3]			12
Dog Chief (Simond Adams).			5
Mrs. Mary Murie [4]			3
Fannie Chapman			2
Mark Evarts			2
Mrs. Good Eagle (Nora White).			1
Coming Sun [5]			1
Total			86

[1] Died Dec. 20, 1927.

[2] This singer is commonly known as John Rowak, according to the pronunciation of the Skidi Band. He is a chief of the Chaui Band and requested that his name be presented with the letter *L* used by the Chaui. The words of his songs are presented in the form used by the Skidi in order that they may be uniform with the majority of recorded Pawnee songs.

[3] Died June 13, 1923.

[4] Died June 12, 1928.

[5] Died Nov. 18, 1921.

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

115

A majority of these songs were recorded by Wicita Blain and his wife, who are members of the Skidi Band and spent their early years in Nebraska, before the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. Both were afflicted with blindness and, when recording their songs, were led by a granddaughter who acted as interpreter. Mr. Blain recorded songs of the Lance and Buffalo dances which are his by right of inheritance. In the Buffalo dance attended by the writer he led the songs, being seated back of the "altar"; he also took a prominent part in the Lance dance. Mrs. Effie Blain is considered an equally reliable singer of the old songs. [424]

John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), who recorded many songs, is chief of the Chaui Band and a fine example of the old-time Indian. He speaks practically no English, but is ambitious to accept the best customs of the white man. In accordance with his request, the phonograph [26]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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115 [126] was taken to his home, at some distance from Pawnee, and a majority of his songs were recorded there, with his niece acting as interpreter.

Dog Chief (pl. 1) is one of the oldest members of the tribe and is highly respected.

Horse Chief is one of the younger men and wears his hair in two long, shining braids. He is one of the leading singers at dances.

Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*) is a quiet, conservative member of the tribe. Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*) also is held in high esteem.

Mrs. Mary Murie and Fannie Chapman are known as excellent story tellers.

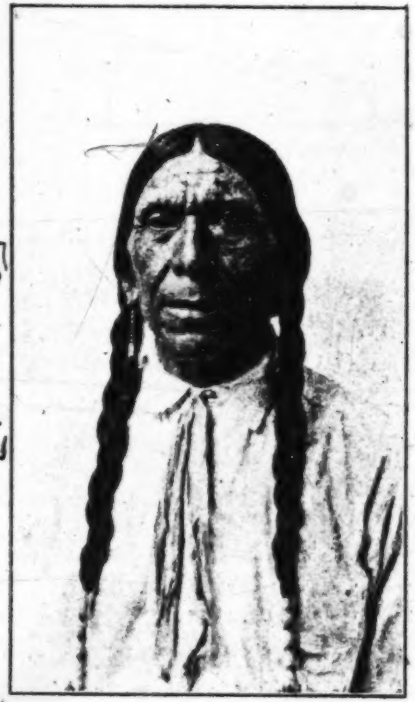
Coming Sun is a prominent member of the Skidi Band. He asked that his English name be withheld because of the importance of certain material which he had contributed to this work.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

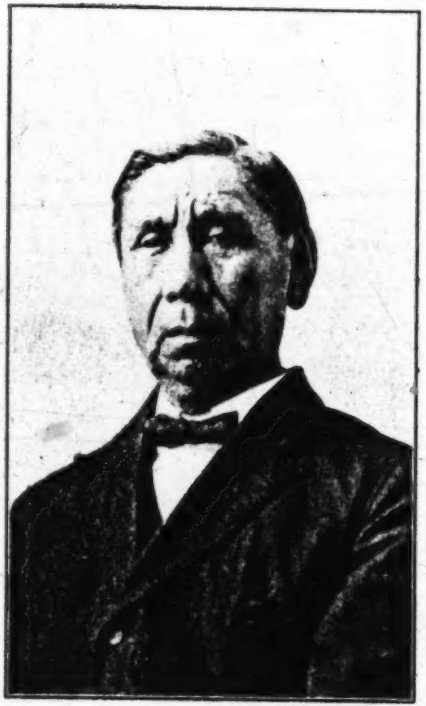
115
142
272
302
293

DOG CHIEF

[Facing p. xviii]



a, John Luwak



b, Mark Evarts

c, Mrs. Good Eagle

[facing p. 17]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

[424] The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later ● 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. 173 Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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Analysis.—This song has a compass of five tones and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second. It is interesting to note that major thirds are more frequent than minor thirds, though the song is minor in tonality. Only one interval larger than a major third occurs in the melody. The time was broken between the renditions of this song. 533*

The five remaining songs of the Bear dance were recorded by Dog Chief (pl. 1), whose father was one of the leading singers at the Bear dance in old times and who therefore has inherited the right to sing these songs. 115 424 533*

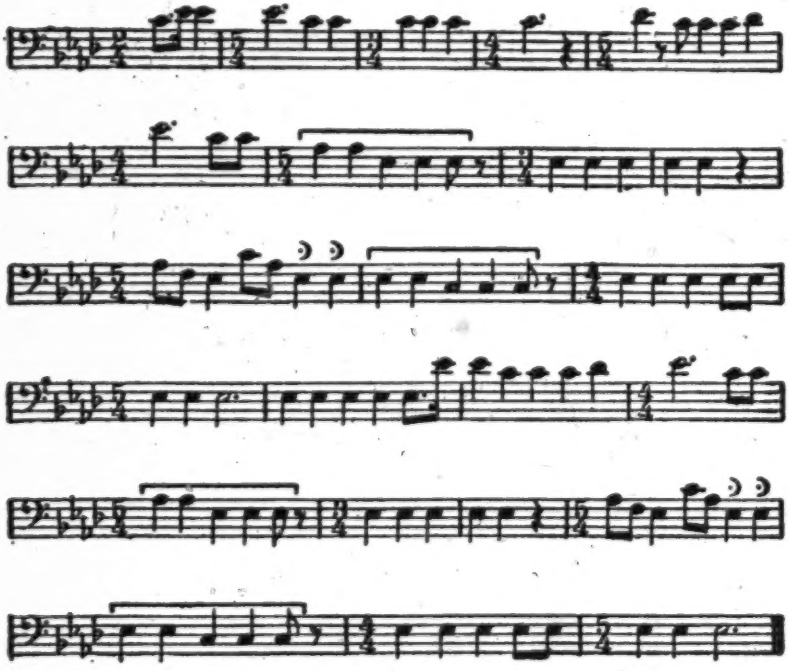
No. 16. "I Am Like a Bear"

(Catalogue No. 1149)

Recorded by Dog Chief

533*

Voice ♩ = 138
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

I am like a bear,
I hold up my hands waiting for the sun to rise.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure, the melody being based on the triad A flat–C–E flat, other tones occurring only as passing tones. The rhythmic interest lies in the 5–4 measures and in the

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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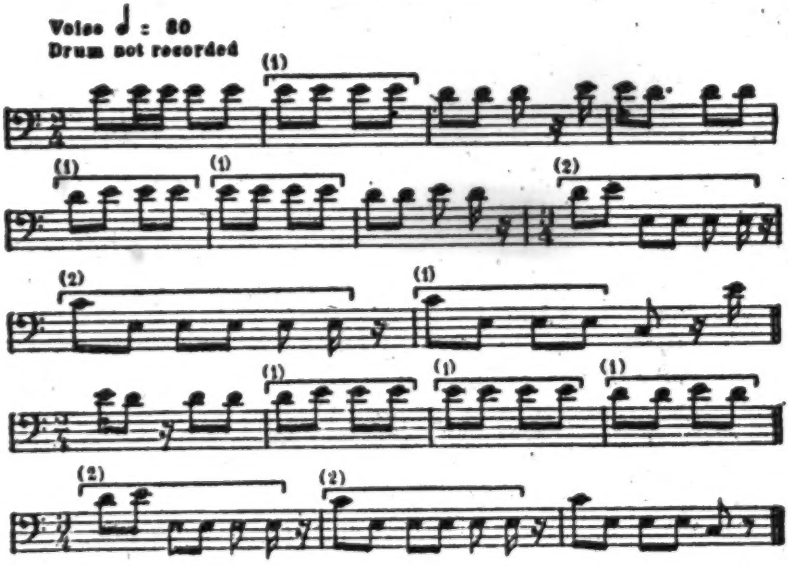
*533 [554] When the man returned with the horse he had captured, the people saw him running like a bear while the horse was galloping. This was commemorated in the following song.

No. 19. Bear Dance Song (c)

(Catalogue No. 1152)

Recorded by Dog Chief



Analysis.— This melody is peculiar in that about 40 per cent of its progressions are minor sixths or larger intervals. The intonation on these large intervals was fairly correct in all the renditions. The two most prominent tones are D and E, the former appearing as an accented tone in almost half the measures. Attention is directed to the descent of an octave which twice is accomplished in the space of a measure.

[115 124] The words of the next song were said to mean "I am a brave man. I am acting like a bear." (The lack of a competent interpreter when Dog Chief's songs were recorded made it impossible to secure a more extended description and translation.)

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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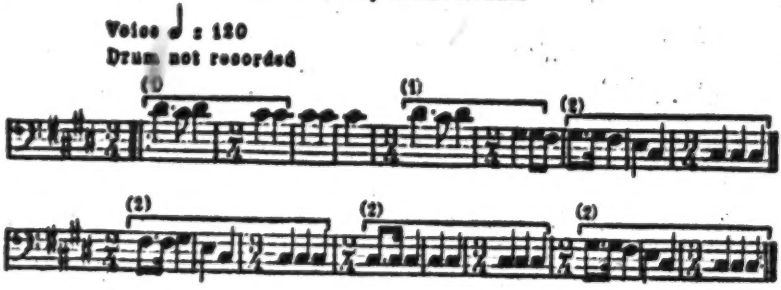
*533 Two songs of the society were recorded by Mark Evarts (pl. 2, *b*), who said that his father was one of its dancers. He said that the ceremony of the Deer Society lasted four days and nights and that this song was sung just before daylight.

No. 21. "How Near is the Morning?"

(Catalogue No. 1150)

*533

Recorded by MARK EVARTS



FREE TRANSLATION

Part 1

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand. Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "It is almost morning."
The chief says to the dancers, "Wake up, men. It is almost morning."

Part 2

The chief speaks to his attendant, saying, "Go out and see how the stars stand. Tell us how near is the morning."
The attendant returns and says, "The morning star is coming up."
The chief says to the singers, "Change the song. The morning star is rising."

Analysis.—This song consists of two parts, each containing nine measures and ending with the same phrase. This phrase, together with the accented subdominant at the beginning of the second half of the song, gives a plaintive character to the melody. The progressions of the opening measures suggest an inquiry and are marked by consecutive whole tones on the upper tones of the compass. Two rhythmic units occur, the second being an extension of the first. Progression is by a variety of intervals but the major second comprises about three-fifths of the entire number.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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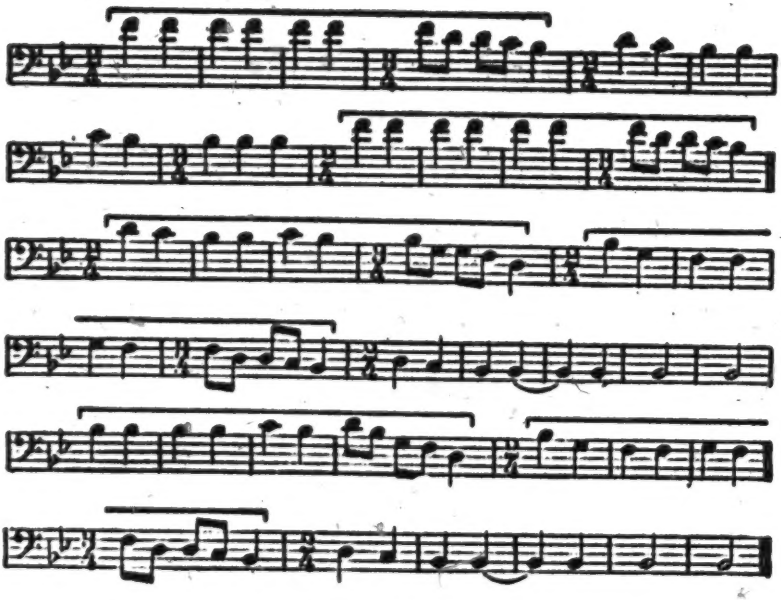
The use of the following song was not explained. 533*

No. 22. "Spring is Opening"

(Catalogue No. 1160)

Recorded by MARK EVARTS

Voice ♩ = 104.
Drum not recorded



FREE TRANSLATION

Spring is opening,
I can smell the different perfumes of the white weeds used in the dance.

Analysis.—This song is based on the fourth 5-toned scale and has a compass of 12 tones. About two-thirds of the progressions are downward. This proportion of descending intervals is not uncommon in Indian songs, but this melody contains, in several instances, a succession of four descending progressions, which is unusual. Almost the entire song consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit.

SONG OF THE WHITE LANCE SOCIETY

533* 575 [115] [302]

The ceremony and dance of this society were witnessed by Mrs. Blain when a child, the ceremony being called Naristaka (*naris*, ceremony; *taka*, white). She stated that the men taking part in the dance had half their bodies painted red and half black, and their position in dancing was such that the side of their bodies painted red was toward the sunrise and that painted black was toward the sunset. Each man held the hands of the men on either side of him, and it

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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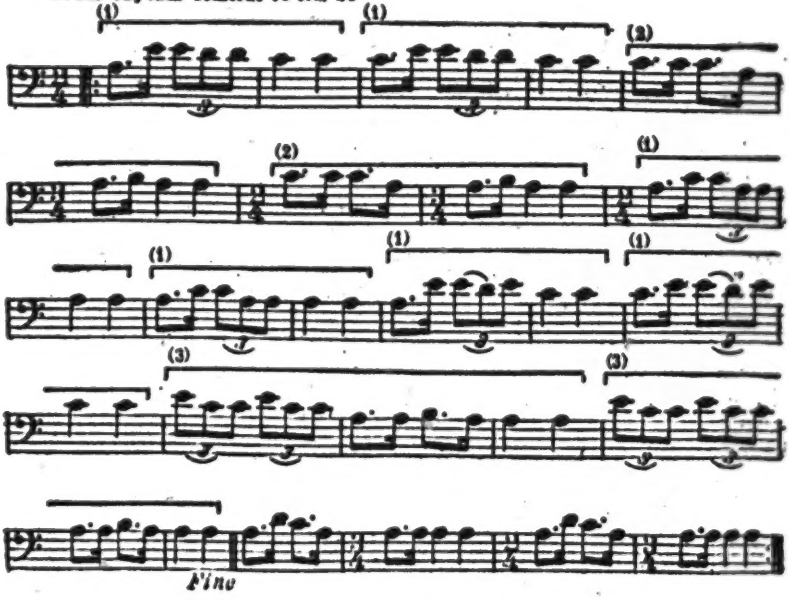
*533

No. 57. "The Yellow Star" (Catalogue No. 1107)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 84
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TRANSLATION

The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star.

Analysis.—Although the compass of this melody is only five tones it contains three rhythmic units. On comparing these we note that the second unit extends the use of the dotted eighth, which occurs in the first unit, and that the third unit contains the dotted eighth and also the triplet which occurs in the first unit. This thematic development is interesting and somewhat unusual. The rhythm did not vary in the four renditions. The connecting phrase did not occur between the second and third renditions. Progression is chiefly by whole tones and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 The man to whom the next song belonged was Running Scout, a *533 man who was very religious and remained in a Ghost dance trance for several days. His friends thought him unbalanced but when he [115] awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to "go to the village." Following this instruction, he saw many men

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: *a* as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though there is abundant opportunity for comment.

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain •[115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand [582] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to [125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE LOST UNIVERSE

Prologue

The Lost Universe *is an account of one year in the life of a six-hundred-year-old American Indian nation that continued its existence within the United States through the Civil War period, retaining its integrity as a nation until it was uprooted and dissolved in 1876.*

This is the story as told directly by the citizens who were part of it in those last years and who, in the course of their lives, saw it become a lost universe.

Nations are even now in danger of dissolution, but they are not lost. The knowledge and wisdom of the six-hundred-year-old Pawnee nation is one of the unknown building blocks that was built into the nation of the United States. In the Pawnee nation was summarized the knowledge of a continent that reached back nearly twenty thousand years in time to when mankind first discovered the New World. In it is embodied our continuity with human history as it developed in this land.

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[p. viii is blank]

PREFACE

THE LOST UNIVERSE was first rediscovered through the language of the Pawnee people. As a research associate of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia in 1928, it was suggested to me by Franz Boas, its chairman, that I undertake a formal study of the Pawnee language, the best preserved member of the then unknown Caddoan language family. After a week's preliminary work with Henry Moses, the only Pawnee member of the One Hundred and One Ranch Circus which was performing in New York at that time, I went to Pawnee, Oklahoma, bearing a letter of introduction to his father, John Moses, dictated in Pawnee phonetics so that I could read it to him since he was monolingual. The next step took me to the Pawnee Indian Agency where I met Walter Keyes, Agency interpreter, who, taking due note of my impecunious condition, commended me to Stacy Matlock, who endowed our science with my first material on the Pawnee language. Following our usual procedure, he dictated myths and tales in the Pawnee language, which I wrote down in the International Phonetic Alphabet and subsequently obtained from him a more or less word-for-word translation, as well as a free English rendering. As the work proceeded, he felt that a more classic form of the language could be obtained from the few surviving monolingual Pawnees; I was able to record similar myths and tales, getting a translation subsequently by reading them back to Henry Chapman, a man who had a remarkable interest and facility in Pawnee and English and who continued as my interpreter and assistant in analyzing the grammatical categories. As a result of this work three pieces were published—a volume of recorded Pawnee texts, *Caddoan Texts, South Band Pawnee Dialect;* an analyzed text and grammatical sketch, "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," in the *International Journal of American Linguistics;* and an article jointly with A. Lesser, "Composition of the Caddoan Linguistic Stock," in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.* This work was supported by the Committee on American Indian Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C.

The next step was to record the way of life of the Pawnees of which the language was an instrument, in the interests of semantic analysis; this was undertaken under a grant from the Columbia Council on the Humanities through the Department of Anthropology, the work continuing at Pawnee, Oklahoma, until 1936 at various intervals. The present work represents the main substance of what was gathered for this purpose. The chief

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narrator was Mark Evarts, a Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood was spent on the reservation in Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives. His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older people spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Oklahoma, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still

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159 Lincoln who was the government blacksmith. They invited Shot Arm
59 and the boy to come and live with them. They stayed there for six years and then Shot Arm's sister, Woman White Star, invited them to come and live with her. One winter both Shot Arm and the boy were very ill with a high fever. Fox Chief, his older half brother, came and took the boy to live with him. From there the boy moved from one house to the other, sometimes with Misery, then with War Cry and others. Because of his wandering about, he did not know that his father, Shot Arm, had died.
[154] The relatives suspected that his death was due to witchcraft by a member of the family of their old rival, Big Doctor. The feeling was so strong that the agent had an autopsy performed, which showed that Shot Arm had died of an old gunshot wound that had affected his lungs. But the
[165] Pawnees were not convinced. And neither was Mark Evarts when he told of it in 1928. During the first five years in Oklahoma, 800 Pawnees died.

159 Otter's old playmates, David Gillingham and the Coons brothers, had
177 gone to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and they induced him to come along. After his schooling he worked at harness making in Harrisburg, Newark, and Philadelphia. He experienced such wonders as climbing into the arm of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor and playing baseball for a period with the Cuban Giants, a colored team. While he was with them in the South, he was questioned by the authorities "about the grandfather clause." His right hand was permanently broken in baseball, for in those days they played without benefit of a catcher's mitt. He was very lonesome and went home. As he says,

> When I got home from Carlisle, I had no home. My older brother, Fox Chief, War Cry, and Misery had all died. It was cold weather and Behaille (the interpreter) met me on the road and took me in his buggy and gave me a swig of whisky. He offered me a home at his house where Brave Chief, Frank Leader, and Peter Wood were living.

159 An older woman in Behaille's house befriended him and established a relationship with him. Finally the agency took a hand in his life. The agent said he had made a good record at school and he should settle down. He was trained as a blacksmith and given a position. At last the Riding-In family gave him their daughter, Hannah, in marriage and they set up a farm together and had a daughter. Then Hannah died of tuberculosis and shortly afterward, at the age of twelve, their daughter followed. The farm was lost to the bank as the result of a crop failure and
[115] an unpaid loan. This was in 1924. In 1928 this record of old Pawnee life was made with Mark Evarts' help.

[781] When he returned to Pawnee from the east, Mark Evarts had a severe emotional crisis and finally an important religious experience. He re-
000 turned home permanently in 1897–1898. The Pawnee version of the re-